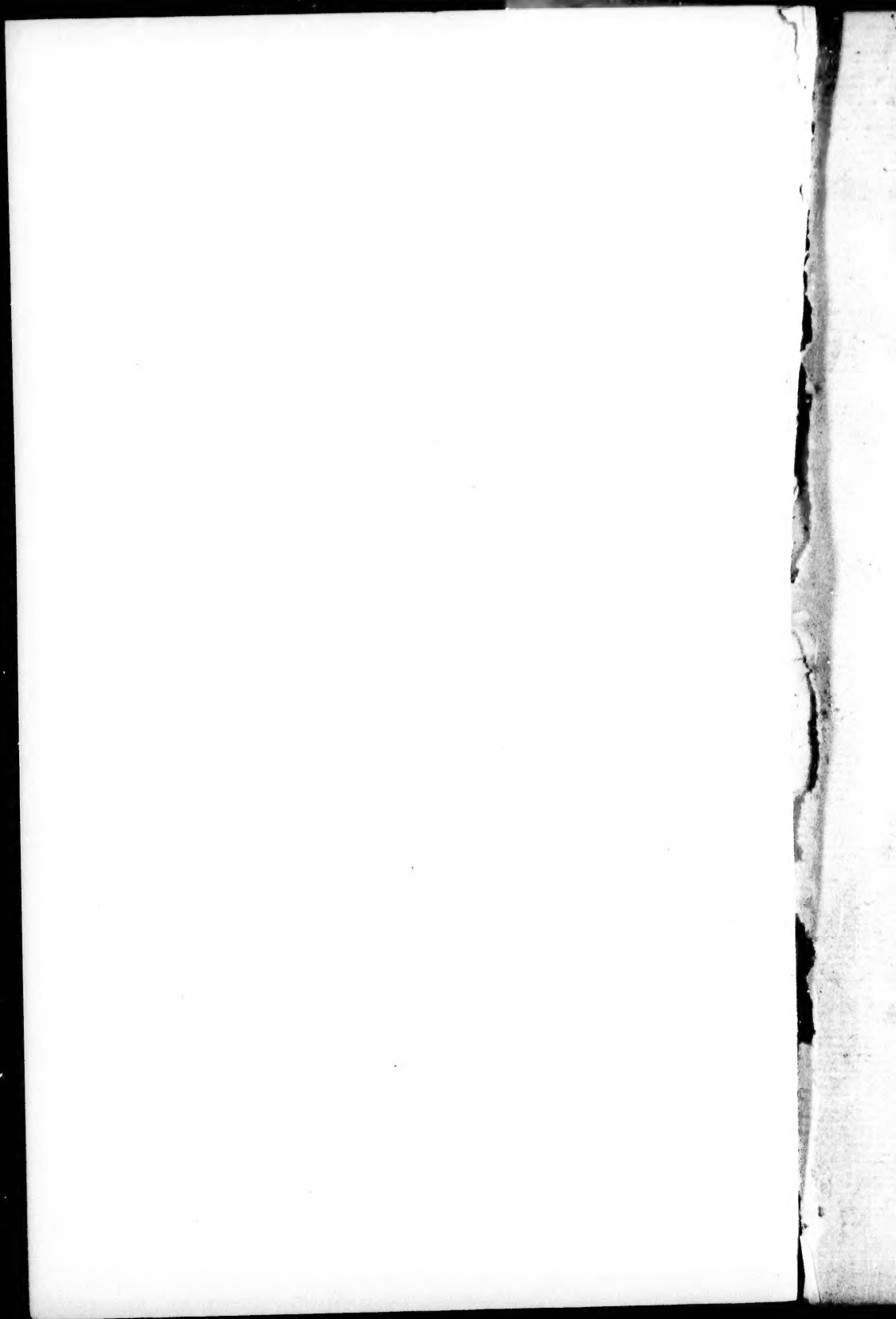




A N
A D D R E S S
T O T H E
C O C O A - T R E E,
From a W H I G.
A N D A
C O N S U L T A T I O N
On the Subject of a
S T A N D I N G - A R M Y,
H E L D A T T H E
K I N G ' S - A R M S T A V E R N,
On the Twenty-eighth Day of February, 1763.

L O N D O N :

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P R E F A C E.

THE Author of the two following Pieces having had no other intercourse with the Publisher, than that of sending them to him anonymously, could not attend to the correction of the press; and having observed some Errata, he requested the Publisher by letter, to offer to the public a cheaper and more correct edition of both pieces together, the object of both being the same, and the subject of both not unconnected. This request having been complied with, he begs leave to trouble the Reader with a few words on the Occasion of two pamphlets, which have been so favourably received.

The Address to the Cocoa-Tree was provoked by a Piece intitled, *A Letter from the Cocoa-Tree to the Country Gentlemen*, which was written with an Air of Authority, and with a most bitter Malevolence towards the Principles of the WHIGS, towards the Characters of some Great Men, who profess those principles, and particularly towards ONE, whose Name will be revered, as long as the last Rebellion, and his Conduct in extinguishing it, are remembered.

The Author of the *Address* thought it not unbecoming any person, who is sensible of the Benefits of the Revolution, and zealous for the Family on the Throne, to expostulate with the Gentlemen of the Cocoa-Tree, on the subject of a letter, which pretended to contain their sentiments, and to direct those of their friends in the Country. He hopes he has done this, without giving personal offence to any of them, and wishes he could have done it, without displeasing them, as a Party.

It appeared very strange, that, after a persevering Opposition to Ministers for upwards of forty years, they should treat the first opposition, in which they were not concerned, as an Attack of the King's Prerogative; that these Champions of Liberty should at once confound the Minister's cause with the KING's, and take so large a Stride, in favour of a Minister, with whom they had not had time to become much better acquainted, than the rest of the nation were.

Whatever their motives or views might be, the world will presume, upon comparing their present with their former conduct, that either their Present conduct is, or their Former conduct was, a deliberate political HYPOCRISY. They know best where to fix the Imputation; and it is most respectful towards them, as well as most natural, to suppose, that they are sincere in their present conduct, it being most agreeable to the principles, which distinguished their Party before the Revolution, and in the latter part of the Reign of Queen Ann.

But however sincerely they may at present support a Minister, who is not esteemed by the WHIGS, they will be obliged, in their support of him, to contradict themselves so frequently, that they ought not to wonder, if now and then they should be reminded of their *past* conduct, especially, since they have thought fit to speak of Opposition with Acrimony, and deny the Whigs that liberty of censuring public measures, which they themselves have exercised, without reserve, for so many years.

It is much to be lamented, that these Gentlemen, who seem to have mixed a little regard to their own Interest with their zeal for their country, did not duly consider, to WHOM they were precipitately devoting themselves ?

They must have fallen into some Inconsistency, in supporting *any* Administration, after so undeviating an Opposition as theirs. But as they had it in their power, at the beginning of this winter, to choose either Side, it seems strange, they did not choose that side, which, when predominant, would expose them to the least inconsistency.

The present Minister will have occasion for all the measures, which have appeared odious to *them*, and as the Opposition to him will be *more formidable*, than any *they* ever made to his Predecessors, he may have occasion to take some measures much harder to digest.

They have already experienced an instance of this, in the mode of raising a certain duty, which brought them to the unavoidable necessity of joining with, and almost heading the Opposition, rather than be inconsistent to a degree of Infamy. They merit the thanks of their Counties for this, and it is pity, they do not merit them for the whole of their conduct this winter.

However, it is to be hoped, that the experience they now have, how much more difficult, and how much less reputable it is, to forward the Views of the present Minister, than to oppose them, will have the good effect of inclining them, to carry on the work of LIBERTY, under the same RIGHT HONOURABLE LEADER, whom they followed for some years past. By so doing, they may abolish the old Party distinctions effectually, and leave us without any other division, than that, which, without their Aid, could hardly have survived the present winter, between a FAVOURITE and the NATION.

It is not yet too late for them to act a part, so much more honourable to them, so much more popular, and so much more favourable to their Interests in the end, considering the Instability of such a Power, as that of the present Minister. Perhaps they may, during the summer, see things in their true light, and act more consistently with the good Characters they maintain in private life, and with the reputation of Patriotism, which they have heretofore acquired by their public conduct.

In the mean time it was thought of some use, to expose the Difficulty and Ridicule of changing sides so abruptly, as they have done, by laying before the Public their Consultation on the Standing Army. It is certain, that a Consultation was held, that in it the Merits of the question were very little considered, that the greatest stress was laid upon their Obligations to the Ministry, and that they resolved, and kept their resolution, to suffer the Army to pass unopposed.

So much being true, the Author, who delivers no opinion of his own upon the question, is not obliged to prove every particular Speech, nor to mean any particular Gentlemen by the Speakers. If it be a Fable, it has a property, which Fables seldom have; it is founded in a known matter of fact.

The merit of these two pieces appears chiefly from their having been well received. But the author is not so vain, as to attribute their Success wholly to their merit. He knows, and confesses with the highest pleasure, that they owe their reception principally to the Popularity of the Cause, in which they are written.

March 26. 1763.

A N
A D D R E S S
T O T H E
C O C O A - T R E E.

From a W H I G.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

From the natural tendency of several principles and practices, that have of late been studiously revived, and *from what has followed thereupon*, I could not help both fearing and presaging, that these nations would some time or other fall into the way of all other nations, and lose their LIBERTY.

Preface to Bp. Fleetwood's four Sermons.

A N

A D D R E S S

T O T H E

C O C O A - T R E E.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE read with due attention the manifesto, which you have been pleased to publish, and to address to the country gentlemen, for the direction of their future conduct and engagements. As you seem to think them under your influence, you acted prudently, and kindly, in giving them a direction, where to follow you.

I will not diminish the amusing idea of your present consequence, which you raise in their minds, and have perhaps admitted into yours. But I shall endeavour to convince both you and them, that you have misrepresented, or at least mistaken, the conduct of the WHIGS, as well as your own. In doing this, I shall presume the

B

letter, which is dated from your head-quarters, to be yours, it having hitherto not been disavowed by you.

Your capital complaint is, that an opposition is forming against the measures of government, which you interpret to be a personal dislike to ministers, and rather think it a formed design against his Majesty's independency and prerogative.

Whoever looks into the history of the two last reigns, will smile to hear you complain of opposition. But I leave the ridicule to others, and admit, that the present opposition is partly grounded in a *personal* dislike to a minister. You have had such dislikes formerly, and were much displeased with those, who censured them. Give us leave to account for ours, before you quite shut up our mouths with the *independency* and *prerogative* of the crown.

You attribute the whole of the opposition to three very great names. I must differ from you in this, as a matter of fact. The present opposition is known to spread through the whole kingdom, I had almost said, through the united kingdom, and existed in the minds of the people, before the first of the persons you hint at retired from business, before the second was banished from court, and before it was suggested that the third would openly patronise the cause, which has been the support of his illustrious house on the throne.

You assign motives to the conduct of those three great persons, which you have no right to assign, and which

it differs not many degrees from treason to impute to One of them. It is needless to confute slanders, which no one believes, or to exprefs the contempt, which every man feels, at feeing the weapons of party fo miferably handled.

If I apprehend you right, gentlemen, the doctrine, upon which your letter is founded, is this, “ That the “ King having a right to appoint his minifters, the “ people have no right to oppofe them.” If this be not your doctrine, then all you fay of prerogative, and indeed the whole of your letter, is foreign to the purpofe. I rather believe it to be your meaning, becaufe we hear the fame language from the other advocates of the prefent miniftry.

Permit me to extract a different doctrine from WHIG principles. WE apprehend, that the pretention of a minifter to his power fhould be *Natural, Conftitutional, Gently afferted*, and *Generally admitted*. If he fails in all thefe refpects, we apprehend the prerogative of the crown to be no fhelter from the warmeft oppofition, which a free people may conftitutionally form againft fuch a minifter. This has been invariably the doctrine of WHIGGISM, and an oppofition is forming to the prefent minifter, upon no other motive, than that he is fupposed to be defective in each of thofe qualifications.

You are fenfible, that he has not till lately been known to us. I affirm it, without laying much ftrefs upon the place of his birth.

The national reflections, which have been thrown out on this account, seem to have borne no more ill will towards the natives of North-Britain, than might be expected at a time, when one of them was so suddenly and highly exalted, probably against the secret wishes of the wisest among his own countrymen. They doubtless knew, that their interests would have been better managed, by leaving to the cool and insensible operation of time, the difficult work of eradicating national prejudices ; and if they had been consulted, they would have thought it sufficient to see the government of their part of the island in their own hands, and to see lucrative and honourable posts among us distributed, as they have been by WHIG ministers, almost indiscriminately to Britons in general. They could not advise him to grasp at the whole, in spite of popular prejudices, whilst those prejudices did not molest them in the enjoyment of a considerable part, nor him in being a principal figure among the glittering ornaments of the drawing-room.

Indeed it is highly probable, that if they had nominated a minister, from among their own countrymen, they would not have made election of this noble person for the purpose ; partly, because they might have been disposed to prefer others before him in their own esteem ; and partly, because it happens to be a misfortune to his present pretensions, that we cannot trace a single drop of English blood in his famous genealogy ; that he is so radically Scottish, that none of the ancient families of that kingdom can boast of a more unmixed extraction. The prudent and thoughtful part of his countrymen

could not desire to see a person at the helm, whose first appearance there would revive the old and almost exploded jealousies. It has in fact revived them. They will be alive and active throughout his administration ; and tho' they may subside, after that is expired, it will require some time, to bring back both parts of the united kingdom to that degree of mutual affection, to which they were advanced at the commencement of the present reign.

But the WHIGS do not rest their opposition upon this, for they have more solid objections to him, as a minister. He has no natural interest in SOUTH Britain, that is, he has no popularity of character ; he is not distinguished by his zeal for the prevailing and constitutional party principles, nor recommended by long and acknowledged services.

The want of popularity, tho' not disgraceful in itself, for it may in other men be consistent with a good private character, is a strong exception against HIM. An unpopular minister has not the principal thing necessary towards his stability in a free country, *the confidence of the people*. He has not the motives, which popular men have, to guard the public liberty, and administer *constitutional* advice to the crown.

The WHIGS therefore naturally dislike him ; for WHIGGISM is a popular principle. The great object of it is the liberty of the people, for which monarchy and legislature are established. A KNOWN WHIG will of course enjoy popularity ; he will not flatter the King

with more *independency* and *prerogative*, than he really has ; he will sooner chuse to retire from court. But such a conduct is not expected from a minister, who has no obligation to the people, who has received from them many marks of dislike, and may be supposed to value himself upon the firmness with which he despises the voice of the people.

I appeal to you, gentlemen of the Cocoa-Tree, whether you have not made this an objection to One minister at least. You thought him improper for the office, because he was unpopular. Was it so heinous a guilt, to have maintained this obvious truth heretofore, that you cannot expiate it, without supporting *two* unpopular ministers now ? I know, that some of you are more consistent ; it is to the inconsistent ones, that I address myself. I do them no injustice in affirming, that they opposed a minister, partly for being unpopular, and that they are now enlisted under the banners of the *same* minister, in support of another, who is likewise unpopular.

But this is only one objection to the noble Lord. How has he distinguished himself by party principles ? *Your* zealous attachment to him, the present revival of *Tory-Maxims*, and indeed the whole *foundation* of his power, will answer the question.

You have been wandering about, gentlemen, for some years past, in search of a minister, under whom you might recover your importance, without giving up the absurdities of your ancestors. The general decay of your party reduced you to this vagrant state. You found a

disposition in the WHIGS, to receive you amicably. But still they were WHIGS, and gave you no hopes to become the predominant party. You tried a new expedient, and pretended that the distinction no longer existed.

The late great minister received you upon that pretence, knowing, that *his* connexion with you could excite no jealousies. To him it was matter indifferent, what you professed, as the credit of serving your country was all you could then gain. You have been now admitted into confidence by another minister, whose credit was feeble among the WHIGS, and to whose power your notions became significant. You gave them vent, when you were thus far advanced.

Monarchy was now said to be INDEPENDENT, which is only another word for UNLIMITED. The power of the King over his people was compared to that of a private gentleman over his family. *Filmer* did not maintain it more absolutely, than it has been maintained of late. But *Filmer* maintained it at a time, when great part of the nation knew no better. We are now so well acquainted with our rights, that we cannot give them up for big-founding words or flimsy arguments. We honour the King; we both love and honour the present King; but we dislike the minister, whose existence depends upon TORIES and TORY-MAXIMS.

I say this, gentlemen, without meaning any personal insult upon you, many of whom I know to be very respectable. If you had not all your views gratified under former ministers, it now appears, why they kept you

at some distance. They could not dig up and destroy the principles, upon which the revolution was built. You continued, as you boast, *steady* and *uniform*. If any man was convinced of his error, and left you, you stigmatized him as one, who had betrayed his party. Were I disposed to offend you, I should say, that possibly he had nothing but treason to betray. This rendered it difficult for Whig ministers to reconcile you so effectually, as it was their interest and wish to do.

And can you blame the Whigs for suspecting a new minister, on account of your attachment to him, at a time, when you profess the principles, which were the only bar between them and you? They might say, and are probably still ready to say, with *Piso* to his soldiers, in *Tacitus*, "*Proinde a nobis donativum ob fidem, quam ab aliis pro facinore accipietis.*"

Do not therefore charge the Whigs with an immoderate passion for places, at the time when they are resigning them. Charge them, if you please, with party zeal, when they are sacrificing their power and interest to party principles. But remember, that the principles, for which they struggle, are the foundation of our present government, which they apprehend to be undermined, whenever *TORY-MAXIMS* are openly avowed, and to use your own words, "it is wisdom to foresee such danger; it is courage to meet it in its approach; it is our duty to die or to repel it."

But if you, gentlemen, and your hereditary doctrines, had been out of the question, yet the *WHIGS* could not

fail to dislike the present minister for the foundation, upon which he builds his power. They cannot admit a minister to be a servant of the KING alone. He is the servant of the NATION too, for he is accountable to the nation as well as to the King. Former ministers have confessed this, by the attention they have paid to the opinion and good will of the nation, not merely of our representatives in parliament, but of the people of Great-Britain in general, who do not cease to be a considerable body, even after they are represented.

The WHIGS are far from disputing the legality of the power, that raised the present minister to an eminence, which has, in his case, very much the appearance of a precipice. They only mean to persevere in affirming and manifesting, that he is not a minister with their approbation. They might account for it, by declaring very truly, in the most fair and candid way, that THEY DO NOT KNOW HIM. Let him produce his pretension, if he has any other, to be at the head of the subjects of this kingdom, than the FAVOUR of the KING.

As there never was a better King, than the present, his favour does honour to the man, who enjoys it. But the WHIGS will not dissemble their sentiments under the BEST KING. It is their birthright to say; that, however honourable such a pretension may be, they dislike it, *when standing by itself*; they are JEALOUS of it.

Nor do they in this extend their liberty beyond constitutional bounds. They know both the crime and the folly of invading the *real* power of the crown, and have given too many evidences of their loyalty, justly to incur the suspicion of such a design. It appears to them sufficient cause of jealousy, to see the favour of the crown the only support of him, who directs the executive part of government; and whenever this happens to be the case, they apprehend, that, if we are in any respect more free, than the subjects of other monarchies, we have a right to declare a jealousy so founded.

The administration of a mere favourite tends, in its own nature, to reduce the people to absolute insignificance. This is the best of the bad effects, to which it tends; without effecting this, it cannot long subsist. And what may be apprehended from a state of absolute insignificance in the people, I forbear to explain, in the reign of a prince, who has, and we hope will continue to have, our intire confidence.

Possibly the minister, whom you are defending so *unconstitutionally*, may have no designs, at present, against our liberties. It is common for well-meaning men to be misled, by the too eager prosecution of their views, into measures, which they did not originally approve; and if ever wrong measures may be apprehended, without injury to the character of a minister, it is, when the People and He are at variance.

This appears to be a much more serious objection to Him, than those, which have been drawn from his

native country, or from his supposed inexperience in business; for this affects us *immediately* and *vitaly*. We are no longer the great people we have been, if we must acquiesce in the almost unlimited power of a fellow subject over us, who has no natural interest among us.

The minister himself can hardly fail to see the force and full extent of this CONSTITUTIONAL language. It is much to be lamented, that he did not perceive the WHIG objections to him somewhat earlier; for they have rather gained strength by the progress and exercise of his power; unless you will convince the nation, that he was applauded by the nobles, the senate, and the people of England, when he first exhibited himself as the FAVOURITE minister.

It might have become you better, gentlemen, to have recommended him to your country friends, by pleading his services, than to triumph in the unconstitutional aspect of his power. But here you were not a little embarrassed. You and they were sensible, that his services are not of a long date, and by your own confession they are not many. He did not profess to be the *sole* minister, before Mr. PITT resigned. The conquest of *Martinique* had been planned by that gentleman; and we are very ready to yield to his successor the merit of permitting a fleet to fail, which had been destined and prepared for so important a service, by *another* minister.

The loss and recovery of *Newfoundland* and the conquest of the *Havannah* have happened under the present

administration. The merit of the recovery of *Newfoundland* is much weakened by the antecedent loss of it. If any merit be claimed from the recovery, the world will suspect, that it was lost with a view to that merit. It may be most agreeable to truth, to acquit the minister of both.

You have told us, to whom to ascribe the merit of the reduction of the *Havannah*; and as you have no partiality to the Prince of the Blood, whose advice secured the success of that expedition, we are happy in taking your word for the fact.

The present ministry, you say, designed it. There was no difficulty in discovering where the power of Spain was most vulnerable; for every merchant in London knew, that the *Havannah* was the key to the Spanish West-Indies. So far the merit of designing the expedition was inconsiderable.

But there appears to have been extreme difficulty in striking the blow and giving the wound. Uncommon spirit and perseverance were requisite, and you, who doubtless know the truth, affirm, that the best judge of military merit in this kingdom recommended a commander in chief and other officers, who were distinguished by uncommon spirit and perseverance.

So that the whole of the present minister's services is hitherto comprised in a short space of time, and in a very narrow compass; for we know of no service he could do us, nor of any experience he could gain,

when his great talents were concealed in a place of no business, at a subordinate court.

He has indeed produced a peace. That work is said to be wholly His. “ *Nihil sibi ex istâ laude centurio, nihil præfectus, nihil cohors, nihil turma decerpit;*” and I apprehend, there is hardly one among his constitutional enemies, who envies him that work.

These, gentlemen, are the reasons for the present opposition. The minister stands unrecommended to the WHIGS, by his natural interest, and by his actual services; and he is obnoxious to them for being supposed to have adopted the maxims of the TORIES; those maxims, which TORIES contradict and counteract, when they are *out* of power, and which the WHIGS have invariably condemned, whether *in* power or *out*.

Upon this state of the matter, I defy the utmost sagacity of his warmest advocates, to discover any thing, except the Royal Favour, that gives this noble person a pretension to rule over us, in preference to men, who have an undoubted natural interest, who have the only constitutional party interest, who can boast, with the testimony of the world in their favour, of long and faithful services, and who therefore enjoy the CONFIDENCE of the NATION.

You have assigned other motives for the opposition, but they are only such, as anger will always suggest, when men are ripe for invective. They are not indeed mere inventions; for you, who are in the secret of af-

fairs, know the private injuries, of which the Whigs have cause to complain, tho' their complaints are all of a public nature.

YOUR FAVOURITE minister, conscious of the infirmity of his pretensions, has not asserted, nor conducted his power with the gentleness, which prudence would have dictated to a new minister, better circumstanced. He was so much in haste to be the SOLE minister, that he took not the time necessary, to avail himself of the experience of other men, or to strengthen himself by their friendship.

Every man of consequence, who has services, or abilities, or character, to recommend him to the King and people, was naturally obnoxious to one, who desired to be at the head of affairs, without the formality of raising himself by services or abilities.

I need not remind you, gentlemen, of facts, which you know so perfectly well. You could answer the questions, without much recollection, were I to ask you, in the order of time;

What is become of One, whom you know to be eminently qualified for the station he filled, but who was so intractable, that he could not be prevailed with, by *any* menaces, to give up his own honour, by betraying a local interest of the WHIGS?

Why another gentleman, whom you so justly revered, was provoked to resign, by the opposition he met with

to a measure, which he thought *necessary*, and which was adopted as *unavoidable*, soon after his retirement ?

What could induce a third, who had served in both the late reigns, with a most disinterested fidelity, to resign, at a time, when his friends adhere to him in a manner, which seems to astonish you, and when you confess his activity not to be impaired by age ?

Why a fourth, whose name has ever been dear to the WHIGS, whose manners are too gentle to give offence, was——

But I will not proceed. You are so vigilant and zealous, that I would not utter a word, which might bear too free a construction. We know who it is that can do no wrong ; and the nation has not been misled, to impute any thing wrong to HIM. It is all understood to proceed from another hand, against which the whole discontent of the public is directed.

Can you be insensible, that the voice of the people is *loud*, and almost *united* at this time ? And are your notions of monarchy so high, as to incline you to think the whole nation made for a MINISTER ? This would be improving upon your ancestors, who only thought the nation made for the KING. Do not impute it to our envy of the figure and power, to which you aspire, if we continue to differ from your opinion, as well as that of your ancestors.

Having thus far justified the conduct of the WHIGS, give me leave, gentlemen, to add a few observations upon your conduct.

You talk much of *Majesty* and *Prerogative*. If this had been always your language, how many bitter efforts of opposition might have been spared for fifty years past! How much more peaceable might have been the reign of our late Sovereign! How much more peaceably might his ashes rest at this time! For even the WHIGS are so well affected to monarchy, that they lament to hear the reproaches thrown out upon his memory.

Did you recollect the independency of the crown, when you opposed his ministers? Was not prerogative checked and pared? And were not the WHIGS, at that time, necessary guardians of it, against the intemperance of your opposition? I will not ask you, how vigorous an opposition you made to the unnatural rebellion against him.

Wherein did he provoke you, to lay aside the doctrine of your fathers, which you have now brought forth, quite rusty, for the use of the present minister? The late King had been educated in a country, where his family was despotic; but Here He was a friend to liberty; and, knowing, what principles had raised his illustrious house to the throne, he confided in the WHIGS, and treated you with a moderation, which seemed to bid fair for a coalition of parties. He made you ashamed of the distinction. You disavowed it a manner, which per-

suaded us you were in earnest, till you thought fit to separate from us again after his death.

If you bear any ill will to his memory, treat him at least, as you think KINGS ought to be treated; and do not, for his sake, insult and vilify his beloved surviving son. Do not, for your own sakes, describe that Prince, as a *spirit which delighteth in blood*. Surely this is not *now* the language of the *Cocoa-Tree*. If it be, then party is rekindled to an alarming degree. It was the language heretofore of those, who were disappointed at CUL-LODEN; and has been disused, till it escaped from the pen of your writer, I hope inadvertently, and without your approbation. The character of that great Prince cannot be hurt by the insinuation; but the reader will be led by it to form strange ideas of you, and will be at a loss to know, by what kind of professions you intend to make your court.

And with respect to ministers; permit me to ask you, had not the ministers of the late King at least as constitutional pretensions to their power, as any you can assign to the present minister? Why then did you esteem it necessary to oppose them, for many years, in every measure, with a professed design to snatch the power from their hands, which had been intrusted to them by their royal master?

We have heard much alledged of their corruption. I will not enter either into the fact, or into the known causes of it. But wherein did you principally place their corruption? To the best of my memory, you made

an outcry about places and pensions, till placemen and pensioners were almost ashamed of their daily bread. Let me beg you to compare the present list of places and pensions, with that, which existed in the time of the minister, whom you most vehemently opposed, as the grand corrupter. Without doubt the present minister has reasons for his conduct, which perfectly satisfy you. We have heard of one pension, bestowed upon an ingenious writer, which probably has not given you offence.

Gentlemen, let us treat each other with temper, and consider our mutual conduct with a becoming candour. We are willing to suppose, that you have no thoughts of ambition; that you mean only the honour of the crown, and fully intend to shew yourselves more disinterested, than they were, who enjoyed his late Majesty's favour. Give the WHIGS leave to mean only the good of the King and the people, and allow their leaders to be at least as disinterested as You. They are voluntarily resigning places of power and profit. You seem disposed to be as voluntary in accepting them.

Indeed if places could have been purchased by extraordinary services, you would have had a fair claim in the late reign; for you were observed to bid very high, in the latter part of it, when you eagerly concurred in the *German* measures. It is noble and ingenuous in you, to retract your conduct so openly, as soon as those measures cease to be in vogue.

It is your happiness, that you can preserve your integrity unspotted, whilst you take a sudden leap, from

one extremity of a measure to another, and from one minister to another.

The great minister, who found it necessary to support the *German* measures, convinced you of their rectitude. He does not appear to have changed his opinion; nor can it be merely his removal from power, that changes yours. It must be some sudden light, that is lately broke in upon your minds.

I well remember, that you boasted of his disinterestedness, and pleaded That, as the ground of your confidence in him. He was indeed disinterested, for he had all the trouble of power, without the pleasure of gratifying his friends. Did you find this inconvenient, gentlemen, that you made so quick a transition from Him to One, who has, at present, an uncontrouled power to gratify any friend?

But whilst I give you joy of your expectations, I will do you the justice to intimate, that they may peradventure be too sanguine. You must have observed, how much your favourite minister is alarmed at the suspicions of the WHIGS; what pains he takes, upon every resignation, to fill up the vacancy with a character, or, if that be impracticable, with a *Name*, which may give a WHIG complexion to his administration. He seems to find it difficult to do this; but you have something to apprehend from the mere attempt.

You complain of having been called the dupes of many oppositions. Perhaps the time may come, when

you may be exalted higher, and become the dupes of a minister. I shall, in that case, think you very ill treated, for your merit is great, in contradicting yourselves, at so small a distance of time; and in deserting the Right Honourable gentleman, in whom you had implicit confidence, so lately as the last winter, for whom and his measures you were so zealous, that you were very near forgetting the independency and prerogative of the crown.

Before I take my leave, let me beg of you, gentlemen, for the sake of the King and the nation, and for your own sakes, to publish no more such letters, as your last. The violence of party language is very inflammatory, and you need not be told, that the WHIGS are the majority of the nation. They are ever peaceably disposed; dutiful to the King, zealous for the constitution, and moderate towards the TORIERS.

Why should you in the spirit of exultation, provoke them to depart from a temper, which you have experienced to be gentle? They will not depart from it, without the most extreme necessity. They will continue good neighbours and good subjects. But, whilst they breathe the air of this country, they will endeavour to preserve the liberties of it. They will entertain the same notions of prerogative and liberty, equally in all reigns. When their ideas upon each of those points are quite extinct, then you will have the liberty of triumphing, without an opponent, in the extinction of parties, and that may be the only liberty, and the only triumph, you will then have.

In the mean time, to shew, how remote and chimerical that day appears to us, I will repeat, in the name of the WHIGS, the conclusion of a protest formerly made in a certain great assembly ;

“ Under this Royal Family alone, we are fully convinced we CAN live FREE ; and under this Royal Family, we are fully determined, we WILL live “ FREE.”

I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Dec. 6, 1762.

Your most humble Servant,

A W H I G.

A
CONSULTATION
On the SUBJECT of a
STANDING ARMY,
HELD AT THE
KING'S - ARMS TAVERN,

On the Twenty-eighth Day of February, 1763.

THE SECOND EDITION.

Well have ye judged, well ended long debate,
Synod of Gods, and like to what ye are,
Great things resolved, which from the lowest deep
Will once more lift us up.

MILTON.

A

CONSULTATION, &c.

A SET of worthy gentlemen, who, partly for their amusement, and partly from motives of public spirit, have innocently made the nation their care, for many years past, and have by their connection with different parts of the kingdom, been able from time to time, to inflame or to cool, as the case of the public might require, had a meeting lately at the *King's-Arms*, to which their club was for that day removed from the *Cocoa-Tree*, in order to consider the grand question, of a Standing Army in time of Peace.

It had never been a question among them before, whether this measure ought, or ought not to be opposed ? for they had set their faces against it invariably, from the accession of the present Royal Family ; and there seemed to be less room for a doubt now than ever, as they admit, that we have a King on the throne, who reigns in the hearts of his people ; and loudly contend, that the present minister has had the honour of abolishing

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party distinctions. Yet, it so happened, that their circumstances were materially changed, and they began now to think the point, at least, problematical, which had for many years appeared to them, as quite indisputable.

A meeting was called for a general consultation. The question had so changed its appearance, that many things were said upon it, which none of them had ever heard from each other's mouths; and being distracted between different motives, and opposite engagements, they departed somewhat from their usual unanimity, and sometimes, as is natural to distracted minds, they departed from the question before them.

It being necessary for the country gentlemen to know what is done by their friends in town, that they may regulate their conduct and conversation accordingly, we here present them with the substance, of this important debate, which was held at the *King's-Arms*, in the month of *February*, 1763, about the same time, when some prophet foretold, that the world would be at an end.

The chairman was a gentleman whose solemnity of figure and manners would have passed for wisdom in the last century, and did in fact raise him to the rank of a first rate counsellor in the present. He opened the meeting with the following speech :

The CHAIRMAN'S Speech.

GENTLEMEN,

WE are assembled to consider of a weighty matter, in which the nation is not so much interested, as we and our friends. The point indeed is trite. It has been so well worn by us, that if we enter into a dull repetition of what we have said heretofore, we shall spend much time to little purpose.

Our first object, in all questions of this kind, should be the credit and strength of our body. I am sorry to mention what you must all have observed, that our popularity has suffered much of late; and I am afraid, private interests, which are quite new among us, may interrupt our union.

To prevent this as far as lies in my power, I beg leave to lay down one general rule for our debate, which I hope you will judge to be suitable to the gravity of our characters. The rule I mean is this, that we keep entirely clear of the merits of the question about a Standing Army, and that we reduce our whole debate to this single point, *whether we shall now approve or condemn that measure.*

You cannot fail, gentlemen, to see an essential difference between these two questions. It follows, indeed,

if the measure be a wrong one, that we ought to condemn it. But a thing may be right, which appears to us to be wrong; and a thing may have been wrong heretofore, which may now be right; which considerations lead into endless perplexities about right and wrong, and may have the effect of dividing us, which we ought to guard against more cautiously, than against the evil effects of any measure whatever. Whereas we shall have a fair chance of preserving our unanimity, and of doing either right or wrong in a summary way, if we rest the whole matter upon the single question, abstractedly considered, whether we shall or shall not approve this measure.

I am sure, gentlemen, none of you suspect me of any thing unfair, in recommending this method. I have no private ends to answer. I have the honour, indeed, to be a counsellor, but you all know, that it is not a profitable honour. It only gives me a title and a precedence amongst you, which I am not so ridiculously formal as to value.

Gentlemen, I never had more than one single view, before and since I came into this society; and, though that view has been variously crossed by events, which we could not foresee, yet, it will continue uppermost in my thoughts, under all changes of men and times. I mention this, because we are at present much talked of. Many malignant eyes are upon us. We are suspected in the country, and envied in town. Let us not weaken our cause still more, by mutual jealousies. You cannot all be counsellors, gentlemen; and I am

afraid you cannot all have places. Every stick of wood will not make a statue of Mercury.

Our laudable confederacy has subsisted by our inattention, both to our private interest, and to the real merits of any public questions. Let us not dissolve it by entering into arguments, which may lead to altercation. I declare that I would rather be in an error, than be convinced against my will.

The question then before you is, not the political one, *Whether a Standing Army be a right or a wrong measure?* but the prudential one, *whether you will approve or condemn it?* I beg every gentleman would deliver his resolution freely, and I shall sum up the debate, and deliver mine, as becomes me, at the last."

When the Chairman had finished his speech, there was some murmuring in the room. Several gentlemen were disappointed by his scheme of contracting the debate; they having been at the pains of preparing themselves with speeches, extracted from the Magazines and Parliamentary Debates of forty years past, all which speeches were now to be unvented. Others, who were predetermined to approve *any* measure of government at this time, came with a resolution to approve of this; but being at a loss for arguments, they were in hopes to collect some from this consultation. However, the murmuring ceased, and they were all impressed with awe, when a grave, elderly gentleman, Sir Robert Filmer by name, stood up, and, having adjusted his

Peruke, and put on his white gloves, addressed the chairman thus :

Sir ROBERT FIIMER'S Speech.

“ Mr. CHAIRMAN,

YOU deserve the thanks of every gentleman here present, for directing our debate to the only point, which cometh constitutionally before us, Whether we shall approve this measure or not ?

It becometh not subjects to canvass the merits of public measures. We are unacquainted with the *Arcana Imperii*. Kings and their ministers only are the judges of what is fitting to be done. Our business is to acquiesce, and the merit of our passive obedience will be heightened by the inconsistency of it with such professions, as we have formerly found it expedient to make.

I congratulate you, Sir, and all the gentlemen here present, that we have lived to see the day, when it is our interest as well as inclination to set up to our old principles. We have travelled through a wilderness of forty years opposition, and, though some of us have fainted by the way, either through hunger or thirst, yet a very reputable number have reached the promised land. Shall we now forfeit our possession of it by ill-timed

scruples about consistency? Besides, wherein doth it appear, that we are inconsistent? We opposed our enemies, and we still continue to oppose them. We opposed this measure in particular, because the Standing Army was then meant to intimidate Us. And shall we not now promote that measure, when we may perchance turn this engine of theirs against themselves, and make use of it to subdue them?

By our enemies I do not mean the French and Spaniards. Thanks to the wisdom of government, we are once more at peace with those great potentates. I meant those restless spirits, the WHIGS, who are enemies to subordination, and will not acknowledge our power, until we enforce it, in the only way, by which they prevented insurrections from us."

Here the chairman interrupted Sir Robert, by reminding him, that he was entering into the merits of a Standing Army, which it had been proposed to keep quite out of sight in the question now before them, "Whether the Standing Army should or should not be opposed?" Sir Robert, being a man of order, asked pardon, and then proceeded;

"Sir, I apprehend, and, if the time would permit, should be ready to prove, from the best writers upon government, that to oppose the ministry is opposing the prerogative of the King, who hath an undoubted right to appoint and support his own servants. He is our common father, and we are his children. Shall children direct their father, by what instruments he shall

govern them? and would you take out of his hands the power of chastising his disobedient children? There is nothing more unnatural, than for the members to fight against the head. We were uneasy, when we did it; but you know our motives, and they would have reconciled us to greater hazards, than any to which we have chosen to expose ourselves. When we were opposing our enemies, it would have been absurd to have made use of our own doctrines. We have overthrown the WHIGS, by personating WHIGS. We gained our popularity by it, and, under the favour of that illustrious peer, who hath lately adopted us, we arrived at the very hopeful state, in which we and our principles are at present.

Now is the time, to act like ourselves, and to keep possession of the advantage we have gained, by shewing, that, as we have the best of kings, so we will be the best of subjects; we will obey implicitly; we will make our monarch independent, and crush the men, who shall dare to oppose his minister.

The malecontents indeed are numerous, and have some advantages of rank, power, and understanding; but what are these, compared with the advantage of our principles, to which the most potent monarchs in the world owe the non-resistance of their subjects? Our enemies have at present the people on their side. The people are intoxicated with notions of liberty. Time and discipline will reduce them to order, and teach them to place their happiness, like the subjects of other monarchs, in the grandeur of their sovereign.

The kings, whom you opposed before, were not natives of this island. We have now an ENGLISH king, and an English ———, I beg pardon, I mean a BRITISH minister. Let us act the part of dutiful subjects, in supporting both, against Faction among the great, and violence in the multitude.

The ministers we opposed before were not monarchical ministers. They supported their credit at court, by their credit among the Whigs. We have now a minister of our own, who derives his figure and consequence, neither from his birth, character, accomplishments, nor services, but from his Royal Master. Such a minister it becometh us to support; and whatever inconsistency there may be in the mode of supporting him, it will be justified by the consistency of supporting a minister so circumstanced, who is, strictly speaking, the servant of the king, our master, for he hath no other interest to depend on, save his interest at court; and will therefore, in common prudence, do his best to preserve and extend the antient rights of monarchy, and to diminish the usurpations of liberty.

Far be it from me, Sir, to persuade you and our friends to approve of any thing against your judgments; but you may approve without examination, without an officious enquiry into the merits of a measure, and with an implicit confidence in a wisdom greater than yours, and in a power, which ought not to be resisted, nor even to be provoked by censures or murmurs.

I declare, for one, that as the Standing Army is a measure to be taken by his majesty's minister, I shall think it my duty, as a good subject, a friend to monarchy, and an enemy to *unfeigned* opposition, to support that measure, by all the influence of my opinion in town and country, to consider my protection as meant in the measure, and to be thankful to the power, by which I am protected."

Most of the company applauded the wisdom, magnanimity, and spirit of Sir Robert Filmer's speech. It had drawn tears from some of them, by presenting before their minds an image of the noble simplicity of manners, and sentiments in former times. They were not sparing in their encomiums, which flowed from the heart, and confirmed him in an opinion, such he had entertained before, that all he had advanced was convincing and unanswerable. But there are in all societies some men, who are not easily diverted from the track, in which they have been accustomed to move, and there were a few in this society of a very intractable disposition. Mr. Shippen stood up next, and delivered himself in the following words :

Mr. S H I P P E N ' s Speech.

“ Mr. CHAIRMAN,

I Have attended with great respect to Sir Robert Filmer, and hope he will not think me less his humble servant, if I declare myself not satisfied.

I never before heard any of our friends apply his doctrine to the family now on the throne. I agree to the doctrine itself, and would maintain it at the hazard of my life and fortune, were we so circumstanced, that I could apply it with a hearty good-will. But we have been always taught, that this Royal Family could not avail themselves of principles, which had been contrived for the support of another line, and that the last service we could do to our desperate cause, was that of a persevering Opposition, in the course of which we have borrowed weapons from the Whigs, and fought them upon the principles of liberty.

I have done my part in this way for many years, and have particularly chosen, for my department, the Standing Army, which I considered, as partly intended to keep me in awe. I have said so much against it, that I cannot appear for it, nor even suffer a thing to pass off silently, which I have always condemned from my heart, for very substantial reasons.

I agree to all that is said in praise both of the King and the minister ; and am only sorry, that we are not singular in our praises of the King. Our enemies join with us in nothing but this. If we could provoke them to treason, we might silence the reproaches, which they have lately revived against us, with great cruelty. However, as they do not agree with us in opinion about the minister, we have a fair chance for keeping him to ourselves, in conjunction with our faithful allies in the North.

But this of the army is an awkward difficulty. The thing may be necessary to government, and perhaps, of great use to us. But let us take our credit into consideration. Are we strong enough to stand without popularity ? Will government support us against the people ? It would be great, and, as Sir Robert Filmer calls it, monarchical to do this. But, will it be done ? We should have some assurance of that, before we come plum into all those things, which we have called iniquitous. We should, to speak plain, be able to silence our country friends by providing for them. Our minister can create places, and he can create vacancies. Let the country see the use and intent of our present compliance. Then I may possibly get the better of my prejudices against this measure, which, I must own, stick so close to my mind, that I shall be in danger of speaking against it, if ever hereafter I stand up to speak for it.

In the mean time, Mr. Chairman, I cannot follow Sir Robert upon a mere dry speculation about govern-

ment which none of the kings of the present family will countenance, which may be advanced to condemn the Revolution, but appears to me to have no weight in support of any Royal Family claiming from the Revolution. At least, if I support monarchy by arguments, which I have contradicted in my practice for so many years past, I must have some reason to shew for my conduct, which has not yet occurred to me; else I am determined to condemn, as I have hitherto done, a Standing Army in time of Peace."

The known integrity of Mr. Shippen's heart had its usual weight, and effaced the impression made by Sir Robert Filmer's excellent speech. It was agreed by many of the company, that Mr. Shippen spoke more to the purpose, and that they and their country friends ought to be well satisfied, before they entered precipitately into such a maze of inconsistencies. But some gentlemen in the company having already been impregnated with the reasons, which had not yet occurred to Mr. Shippen, were alarmed at his resolution. They were unwilling to desert him, and at the same time they were shocked at the thoughts of returning to the tedious work of opposition. An explanation therefore was necessary, and Mr. COURTLY, a gentleman of the COUNTRY party, very kindly undertook it.

Mr. COURTLY's Speech.

" Mr. CHAIRMAN,

I Have the honour to call both the gentlemen, who have spoken, my worthy friends. I am sorry to see them differ in opinion, especially as no part of Sir Robert Filmer's argument will admit of the least dispute. To support the minister, is supporting the crown and the prerogative. I and some other gentlemen are so sensible of this, that we have contributed our part to the support of government, by accepting places of emolument under the present minister; and we did it with the entire approbation of this society.

The minister wisely thought fit to try our fidelity, before he extended his favours to our whole body. We shall carry every point, if we answer his expectation. Rome was not built in a day, nor Carthage overthrown in a year. You know that Rome had as small a beginning as his power, and it will be a work of time to reduce our enemies to the present condition of Carthage. Shall we defeat all our hopes at once, by treating our noble patron, as if he were no better, than the ministers who have gone before him? Can it be expected, after what our enemies have suffered by their perverse conduct, that we shall be indulged in following our private opinions? You may rest assured, from what I know of the

dignity and firmness of the present minister, that every man of us will be proscribed, who ventures to concur in any instance with the present opposition. Not a relation, or friend of ours, not even a Custom-house officer of our nomination will escape his resentment.

And what can we propose to ourselves, if our obstinacy should weaken his hands? Our enemies are almost as well qualified to serve the state, as we, and if they should recover their ground, what will become of our places, our hopes, and our credit? not to mention, that we shall be exposed to some ridicule. These are great evils to run hastily into, for so trifling a consideration, as uniformity of conduct.

Besides, give me leave, Sir, to observe, that there were reasons heretofore for disliking a Standing Army, which do not now subsist. You may remember, who commanded it, and what use he made of it on a very critical day. I am not willing to repeat grievances, nor to provoke our enemies to insolent triumphs on the event of that day. I only hint at it with a view of suggesting to you, that as the like occasion will probably not offer again, the army has not now any apparent mischievous tendency towards us. So that here is not a single reason left for condemning this measure, and you are surrounded with such reasons for approving it, as I confess to be irresistible by me."

The company was divided in sentiments upon this judicious speech. Those, who had accepted places looked alert; those who expected places, thought it not much

amiss, and the rest, who had nothing in hand and nothing to expect, thought Mr. Courtly's reasons unsatisfactory, after the many things they had formerly heard him say, about the disgrace of dependence upon courts or ministers. This diversity of opinions produced a ferment, and might have ended in a political riot, had it been their misfortune to have no more speakers among them. But the powers of a new orator calmed the tumult. His accent would have commanded attention, if his words and manner had not. He was no less a person, than the famous Sir ARCHIBALD MAC-SARCAISM, a gentleman of an ancient family in the North, who a few years ago entertained the town, in an excellent dramatic piece, which, on account of the popular prejudices in favour of the Scotch nation, has not been exhibited for two or three years past. Having been cruelly disappointed in love, he repaired to this society for amusement, and was received as a member, with great respect.

We are sorry, we cannot do justice to his accent, nor wholly to the dialect, in which he spoke, both which must be left to the reader's imagination, whilst we only record the substance of his speech, as follows :

Sir ARCHIBALD MAC-SARCASM's Speech.

" Mr. CHAIRMAN,

THE principle and the form of your present consultation are both very acceptable to me, and I hope, it will terminate in bringing us all to act as one man, that we may invigorate the measures of the state, and pursue, with undeviate spirit and firmness, the sum total of all the political views of a good subject, I mean, **PRIVATE GOOD**. For public good is nothing but an aggregate quantity of private good, the public being a continuous body compounded of private men.

Sir, a pernicious practice has of late been predominate among the Great, of resigning their tenures under the crown at pleasure. It is contrary to the spirit of the Feudal Law, and if the example should descend to the servile part of life, our hirelings may rebel in like manner at a time, when we are not pecunious enough to emancipate them. It shews you, Sir, that there was no relevant reason for abolishing the Feudal Law, under which there was a regular gradation from the perfect slavery of a vassal, through the contracted liberty of his Laird, to the perfect, absolute liberty or power of his prince.

Sir, I forecast, that ye are all running into anarchy, if ye do not apply the punitive faculties of the state to chastise your contraveeners. What is your doubt anent the matter now before you? If I roborate my hands against a neighbouring clan, shall it be a question among my clan, whether this ought or ought not to be done? or whether they shall or shall not approve it? Ye ought every man be hailed away, and be incarcerated, if ye presume to criticise the measures of such a government as ye now have.

I will not mention the king, because the opinion of our adversaries is conform to ours anent his majesty. But I shall speak of the minister, whose praises are above the powers of my countryman, Mr. David Malloch's pen, though he has gotten well by supporting his lordship's administration in this place. Sir, the great and immortal bishop *Burnet*, the best historian, that ever this island produced. ——— ”

At these words there was a general uproar in the room, and the chairman, with some emotion, told Sir Archibald, that his description of that historian, if he might be so called, was quite new to the company, and had never been given to him but by foreigners, and the Whig faction in England, for whose service he wrote and acted.

Sir Archibald was somewhat disconcerted at having slipped inadvertently into Whig language. He asked pardon, and pleaded, that he should not have used such extravagance in speaking of that reverend prelate, if he

had not been his countryman ; which apology gave entire satisfaction. But whilst this matter was adjusting, Sir Archibald unluckily forgot the passage he was about to quote from bishop Burnet, and returned to the praises of the minister.

“ Sir, it is common in other states, for men in the inferior departments of government to aspire to the highest post, and by passing through many a long-tailed compt in the several offices, they sometimes arrive at the ultimate point. But it is an uncommon thing, for a person of high rank, whose pedigree is illustrate with the name of kings, who himself bears a name, which once was royal,” (here Sir Archibald dropt a tear) “ to condescend to incumber himself with the great swack of the business of the public Treasury, and to perpetuate the happiness of a whole nation, against the good-will of the whole nation.

This fir, is a phenomenon, which has not appeared in our hemisphere till lately. Long may he continue to illumine this island, till his enemies are blinded by his splendour, and constrained to succumb, and till we his friends have all been cheered with the many good things he can dispone to us !

Mr. Chairman, my ancestry is as celebrated, as that of the noble lord. I mind not to depreciate myself, in admiring his condescendence ; but this is not the time for ponderating every man's claim. I abdicate mine for the general good, and am willing to co-operate with the noble lord, and to ease his hands of the throng of

public business. He will have need of my counsel soon or syne. We have a fore party to contend with. It behoves, that we deliberate with wisdom, and act with firmness. It mainly imports, that we suffer not those pestilent heads, the Whigs, to dislocate our system.

I gratulate myself, Sir, that I was casten in company with you and the worthy gentlemen here present. We have sitten together before, but never with so fair a prospect of cementing our union. The alliance is natural, and will turn to our emolument, for it cannot misgive. We shall have a full upmaking, when our minister can bring his great work to perfection, and put the Cope-Stone upon it. We shall then be differenced from wicked men, who perturbate his administration, and will not imbibe the principle that makes us good subjects.

Let us make a solemn league and covenant, and join our hands and hearts. I declare upon the honour of a North Briton, that I will rather die ere I will prostitute the name of MAC-SARCASM, by giving my help or advice to the Whigs.

Anent the matter now before us, I agree with Sir Robert Filmer. 'The army shall be approved by me, as it is the measure of our noble minister, my friend and ally. It will be safe in his hands, and harmless to all my friends, for most of the officers are my countrymen; and this reason I think as lucid and cogent as any, which our other worthy friends have adduced.'

Sir Archibald Mac-Sarcasm was heard with attention, and universally applauded. He sat down with a smile upon his countenance, which discovered a noble consciousness of having done well. A gentleman rose up next, with whom few of the company were much acquainted, and a doubt was raised, whether he ought to be heard, some having violent suspicions about his sanity of mind. Sir Archibald flushed with his recent success, spoke again, and undertook to prove his insanity, from his having appeared in opposition to the present ministry. Sir Robert Filmer thought it sufficiently proved, from his labouring under the suspicion of Whiggism, which he affirmed to be a principle no man in his senses could entertain. Others attested, that he had many lucid intervals, and proposed that the chairman should examine the present state of his mind, before he permitted him to deliver his thoughts. But the chairman confessed himself unprepared for such an examination, in the course of which, as is usual among lunatics, he might throw out smart repartees, a species of conversation, to which the chairman had not been accustomed. He therefore thought it most adviseable, to let the gentleman speak, and to interrupt him, if he deviated from the merits of the question, which would be the clearest evidence of insanity. The gentleman, whose name was Mr. WORKUM, submitted to this.

Mr. WORKUM's Speech.

“ Mr. CHAIRMAN,

THERE is not a gentleman here, who honours this society more than I do, for your past conduct. I have heard one worthy gentleman affirm, that you have been personating Whigs, in your opposition to former ministers. If I did not know the gentleman well, I should doubt his attachment to you. It ill becomes men of honour to act a dissembling part. Whatever you have done, I am persuaded, flowed from your own sentiments; and if you did act a Whig part, I should think it a less reproach to you, to say, that you were, than that you pretended to be, WHIGS.

Sir, I was in hopes, that party distinctions were at an end. I have heard many gentlemen here present, affirm it very confidently, and am therefore sorry to hear them speak of themselves as a distinct body. I know of nothing that has distinguished you formerly but your public spirit; and I apprehended, that this consultation had no other object, than former consultations, the good of your king and country. I will still believe this, notwithstanding appearances to the contrary, and deliver it as my opinion, that you ought to condemn a Standing Army in time of peace, because you have condemned it for so many years past. You could not be mistaken in

a conduct so invariably repeated. You have at least forty times heard all the arguments for a Standing Army, and they had no weight with you. You have not heard one of them now, yet you seem disposed to favour the measure.

I believe none of the reasons, that have been alledged for your former or your present conduct, because they are all reasons foreign to the point, and would come better from the mouths of your enemies. I believe you to be a most consistent body of men, unless you convince me of the contrary to-day. Let me beg of you, Sir, to consider for a moment, what will be said of you, how little dependence will be placed in your protestations, if you openly or silently approve that which you thought it honest, for so long a succession of years, to condemn with one loud united voice? You cannot be displeased, if I profess a sincere concern for your credit as a body.

Sir, no man ever changed his party without incurring some sort of disgrace. If you follow the worthy gentlemen, who have hitherto spoken, you may not change your party perhaps, but you will manifestly change your conduct, by which alone your party integrity can be discerned. You have justly assumed the title of country gentlemen, in opposition to courtiers. What title will you take next, if ever your engagements at court should permit you to go into the country?

The matter before you has distinguished you more than any other point, as it has been oftener in debate, and given you so many opportunities of displaying an

inflexible integrity. If you should now disavow, by your conduct, all that you have so admirably urged on this head, what will your friends at a distance say, with respect to other acts of public spirit, which you have taught them to expect from you, whenever the times changed in your favour? What will be your opinion about triennial, or annual parliaments, about reducing the number of placemen and pensioners, and other popular promises, in which you seemed rather too lavish? What tolerable reason can be given for a change of hands in the state, if you support the measures now for which you made former ministers obnoxious? Private reasons, I know, may be given, but you would chuse the mask of public ones. If you will change, confess that your opinion is changed, retract all your past conduct, and incorporate with the gentlemen whom you have always opposed. This would be abolishing parties in good earnest.

I never knew any reason before, why you opposed every measure in the two last reigns, till within the last five or six years, but that honest One of your real dislike of the measures. One gentleman has assigned another reason, which I hope was not the true one, that the two last kings were not natives of Great-Britain. Let me remind you, Sir, that the present minister is not a native of England. He drew his first breath indeed within a day or two's journey nearer to us; but then he is only a subject, if I may be permitted to say it, and they were kings. Sir, I have no national prejudices against him on this account, but the multitude have, and after what you have said of those kings, I do not see, how you

can avoid falling in with this prejudice of the multitude.

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One gentleman, Sir, professed his having taken a place; I wish he had made a secret of it, for I have heard him and some others, who have likewise taken places, exclaim against dependance in a manner, which charmed me. That which was true some years ago, has not ceased to be true now, and it is the character of great minds, to be as uniform and unchangeable as truth.

I am persuaded, our friends did not consider all this, else I should not have heard the things, which have dropt from some of them this day. I hope never to hear the like again, and that they will forgive me, if I act on the present occasion, just as they have acted on the same occasion, before I was born, and ever since.

I beg, Sir, you would indulge me with a word or two upon the real merits of the question. ——”

Here the chairman interrupted him, in the following words;

“ Sir, you have been heard with great patience, or rather with great impatience, if I may judge of the feelings of other gentlemen by mine own. I was willing to wait for the mark of your insanity, which I had fixed upon, though you have betrayed many in the course of your speech. You have now given me just cause to declare, that you cannot be suffered to speak any longer;

and, I hope, as a friend to the peace and harmony of this society, that you will never be suffered to speak again."

Mr. Mayor rose next, and prevented the opprobrious language which seemed to be breaking out against Mr. Workum. He expressed himself thus ;

Mr. M A Y O R ' s Speech.

" Mr. CHAIRMAN,

I AM not entirely of opinion with the gentleman, who spoke last, in every point ; but I think the main of his argument right, and not at all an evidence of his insanity. It is common to charge men with madness, who think for themselves. I have been called a madman more than once, but I value not what other men say, whilst I know both my heart and judgment to be sound. I have nothing to bias me, for I want no property more than I have, and I know no honour greater, than that of serving my country.

Sir, I do not see, how you can approve this measure, without contradicting yourselves. The opposition to a Standing Army has distinguished you for many years past. You will dissolve your body at once, if you make inconsistency your distinguishing mark. How comes it, you have been silent about the Militia, which was so

lately your favourite scheme. Many of you have taken commissions. I myself have undergone some fatiguing campaigns, or camps at least, to give countenance to this constitutional defence of our country."

The chairman here interrupted Mr. Mayor, begging him to keep to the point, from which he was deviating by the mention of the Militia; and at the same time begging him not to speak so loud, lest their consultation should be over-heard. Mr. Mayor proceeded.

"Sir, I value not who hears me, and as to departing from the point, I don't understand this new rule of debating. I will submit to no rule, Mr. Chairman, which interferes with my liberty of speech.

The Militia, I say, was thought by you a more frugal and constitutional measure, than a Standing Army; and that it has been as effectual for the security of the kingdom, you all know, and boasted of it; and have heard it acknowledged from the throne. Have you forgot, that the Militia was designed more for peace, than for war? It was not to go out of the kingdom, and for what purpose was it established in the kingdom, but for your defence? What signifies your peace, if you are afraid of an enemy's invasion, who did not invade you in time of war?

I approved of any number of forces whilst we had an enemy. I am not ashamed to say, I approved of the German war. I am sure, you would not have had even this peace without it. Sir, it was prince Ferdinand,

that made your peace, by his last campaign. I think he enabled you to make a better ; but I will not enter into that. I say, Mr. Chairman, that you have no occasion for any army within the kingdom, except the king's guards and the garrisons. You have a militia within call, and you may keep them disciplined at a small expence.

If it be ungenerous to discharge your officers, who have served you bravely, give them an honourable maintenance ; I mean the officers both by sea and land. The private men may have employment enough in your manufactures, and the mariners in your extensive commerce, particularly in the valuable trade with the Sugar Colonies. Sir, the life of the kingdom depends upon the prosperity of its trade, and the security of the kingdom ought to depend upon the ocean and the militia. Therefore I declare as you have all done in former days, against a Standing Army."

Mr. Mayor spoke so emphatically, that he would have made an impression upon any audience, who were not prepossessed ; but he was heard with some coldness, and gave great offence, by departing from the rule of the day. Mr. GRAVE, a gentleman much respected for his coolness and dignity of appearance, stood up to dissipate Mr. Mayor's speech, and the company were delighted to see him.

Mr. GRAVE's Speech.

“ MR. CHAIRMAN,

ALthough the gentleman, who spoke last, has thought fit, by entering into the merits of the question, to shew a very unbecoming disrespect to the chair, I think myself not at liberty to follow his example, and shall leave all the irregular parts of his speech about the army and the Militia unanswered, whilst I consider the only point, which comes properly before you, whether you will approve this measure or not ?

Sir, you are to consider it as a measure of government, and in determining your conduct, you ought principally to take into consideration, what claims government has upon you ? You have not, within my memory, been so much obliged to any ministry, as to the present. You have been treated upon an equal footing with persons, who have long been distinguished by their zeal for the family on the throne. I should not say an equal footing, for you have been treated upon a better footing ; some of them being turned out of places, which some of you have been invited to fill. You and your principles have been defended by writers employed on the side of the ministry, and the Whigs have been treated by those writers in a manner, which must have given you entire satisfaction. You have, even in this very measure, been considered as if you were all counsellors. You have been called to a constitutional meeting of the first men, to hear their sentiments, and deliver your own.

This was such a mark of confidence, as lays us under an inviolable obligation. I cannot resist the hand, that lifts me up, and supports me. Something was expected from us, when we were treated with so much condescension. And shall we continue to act as we did, when we were not at all regarded? I am sure this would not be for the credit of our body, about which some gentlemen are so solicitous.

The charge of inconsistency affects us only in appearance, not in fact. Our principles are the same as ever. No obligation we can receive will oblige us to depart from them. The object of our principles was not merely a certain family, but a certain form of government. To this we still adhere, though we cannot adhere to that; and I defy our bitterest enemies to say, that supporting the measures of government implicitly, is departing from our opinions about government.

I wish, gentlemen would give their thoughts a right direction, and not be diverted by a retrospect at their past conduct, when they ought to be singly intent upon what is now to be done, by a body of men circumstanced as we are, obliged as we are, and invited as we are, to become the most considerable members of the community. Political questions are so complex, that an honest mind may turn to either side; and why should we forbear to embrace the arguments, which are most favourable to our present and future condition?

I am tempted to say something of the merits of the noble lord, to whom we are so much indebted; but Sir Archibald has anticipated my thoughts. If an affec-

tion for his own family, and common honesty in matters of *meum* and *tuum*, abundantly qualify any one for the first offices of the state ; if the minister's partiality to us be highly meritorious, and an evidence of his being the best minister since the Revolution, except one or two ; if his severely punishing those, who presume to think and speak with a decent freedom of his measures, be a sure pledge of his being a friend to liberty in general, and to the freedom of public debates in particular ; if he happily enjoys the favour of the king, though unhappily he has not the good-will of the people ; I see nothing that can be alledged against him, as an able upright constitutional minister ; and I should think it a departure from the character I have always maintained, of a friend to my country, to disapprove any of his measures, and particularly this now before us of a Standing Army in time of peace."

Sir Archibald reached his hand across the table, to thank Mr. Grave for his excellent speech, telling him, that he had the right rhetorical and dialectical spirit. The majority of the company likewise paid their compliments, and as Mr. Grave appeared to have thoroughly discussed the matter, no one else attempted to speak after him. The chairman therefore summed up the debate, and delivered his own opinion thus ;

" Gentlemen, I have attended with the utmost impartiality to what has been said. The question before you is, whether you will approve or condemn the measure of a Standing army ?

Sir ROBERT FILMER declares, that he will approve it upon principle, because it is a measure of government.

Mr. SHIPPEN condemns it, because he has no sufficient reason to shew for changing his conduct.

Mr. COURTLY approves, because he has a reason to shew, having accepted an office of emolument under the present minister.

Sir ARCHIBALD MAC-SARCASM approves, because the minister and most of the officers in the present army are his countrymen.

Mr. WORKUM condemned the measure in a very indecent speech, which annuls his opinion, though he merits our compassion as it proceeded from a disordered state of mind.

Mr. MAYOR departed from the question, therefore his opinion likewise is null.

And Mr. GRAVE, in his nervous, manly way, argued most unanswerably for taking the right side of approving the measure.

The opinions then in point of number stand thus ; for approving, four ; for condemning, one.

It will now be expected, that I declare my opinion. Gentlemen, I have been so many years in a Minority, that I confess, it grows irksome to me. I shall therefore not trouble you with any other reason for my conduct ; and I hereby declare, that I shall follow the opinion of the MAJORITY."

The consultation being thus happily ended, the society was adjourned to the COCOA-TREE.

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